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TO
THE REFORMERS,
A DEFENCE OF THE QUEEN
AGAINST THE DEFENCE
MADE BY HER "CONSTITUTIONAL DEFENDER."

London, 8th June, 1820.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW
COUNTRYMEN,

Here is a new and great event; and, in the state in which we are placed, *every* event, no matter what it be, may be looked upon as of importance to us; because it may lead to some change or other; and it is next to impossible to suppose any change that would do us any harm, while it is always *possible* that a change may do us good, be the change what it may, and come how it may, and when it may.

We certainly have had no hand in producing *this* event; and yet I, for one, shall be very much surprised, if, in the end, the whole of the mischief, and every particular part of it, be not ascribed to "*the Radicals*." We have been accused of producing every *other* of the evils that our wise men are now engaged in curing; and, if this charge be added to the rest, why need it surprise us?

In the mean while I beg your attention to some remarks, which I have to offer you on the *case of the Queen*. It is a case

interesting to us; because it may possibly lead to important consequences to ourselves; and, besides this, every man must feel some interest in the *treatment* of a woman under such singular circumstances, especially a woman, for whom we have been *praying (by name)* to God, every Sunday, during the last twenty-five years. Having been taught, and even enjoined and commanded, to pray to God for her, during so many years, gives us some claim to inquire about her now, when we see her an *accused* person, and, apparently, with scarcely any friends.

The articles, which I subjoin from the Daily Papers, give a fair account of the progress of the Queen through France, and up to London from Dover. But that which is most worthy of our attention, is, the chain of proceedings, beginning with the propositions made to her at Saint Omer's in France, by the Courtier, Lord HUTCHINSON, and ending with the message of the Queen, sent, last night, to the House of Commons.

It is well known, that, in 1806 and 1807, accusations were made against the Queen; that four Lords, ERSKINE, GRENVILLE, SPENCER and MOIRA, were appointed by the King to investigate the charges preferred against her; that she, having the late PERCEVAL for

her *lawyer*, repelled the accusations, and demanded a trial; that PERCEVAL collected all the papers belonging to this affair, had them printed, and *ready to publish*; that he just after got *into office*; that all the printed books, except one or two copies, were destroyed by PERCEVAL; that to get at these immense sums were offered; that, at last, in 1813, this publication got out into many new editions; that it was then, and still is, called *THE BOOK*.

Great discussions took place at the time here referred to; and the result was, that it was, on all hands, allowed, that *the Queen was innocent* of all crime of the nature alluded to. Sometime after this, the Queen *went abroad*, and has never returned until now. This was a very unwise step. I declared this at the time, and I foretold, in substance, the consequences that it would produce. In order to enable the then Princess, now Queen, to go and to live on the Continent, *thirty-five thousand pounds a year* was to be allowed her. Mr. CANNING was, it appears, chiefly instrumental in this work; and a fatal work it was for the illustrious lady.

She had not been long gone out of the kingdom, when tales began to be circulated to her prejudice. These were very artfully managed. Official tools were after her, watching her movements, wherever she went on the Continent. A *Parson* and a *Lawyer* have been mentioned amongst these; and, certainly, it would have been wonderful indeed, if *such* an affair

could have been carried on without *such* assistance!

However, things were kept comparatively quiet, as long as the PRINCESS CHARLOTTE was *alive*. She was *heiress to the throne*. The king was, in fact, no more in law, except in case of a restoration to reason, which no one could believe possible at his great age. The now king's life was, as all our lives are, of uncertain duration. He was fifty-five years of age; and, therefore, the daughter, who was heiress apparent to the *Crown* and all its powers and emoluments, was looked towards as the *rising sun*. It was well known, that the Princess was much attached to her *mother*; indeed, what but the commands of *nature* was wanted to cause such an attachment?—There may be some excuse for a child who has not a natural attachment to a *father*; but that child, who is deficient in natural feeling for a *mother*, must be next to a *monster*. Such feeling was not wanting in the Princess, notwithstanding all that had been said and done against her mother. And, therefore, as long as the Princess Charlotte was *alive*, the calumnies against her were confined to low and infamous whispers. These whispers, however, reached far and wide. They got to people's ears *across the Atlantic*. But, still, no measures were talked of.

As soon, however, as the young Princess was *dead*; as soon as that sun was *set for ever*; as soon as that *most unexpected* event took place; as

soon as it was seen, that the unfortunate mother had lost all chance of ever being able to promote the interest or contribute towards the aggrandizement of any body; as soon as this event happened, the mother's enemies began to assume another tone, and they openly talked of crimes and of accusations.

In this state things were at the time of the death of the late king. Then the unfortunate lady became *Queen*; and, unless something were done to prevent it, she must, it was well known, be *crowned* with her husband. The day for his coronation was fixed on; and, therefore, it was necessary for her to return to England, or she must, in case of not returning, give up, tacitly, all claim to be considered as *Queen*, and, indeed, all claim to be considered as an innocent woman; because she very well knew the nature and extent and currency of the calumnies against her.

She, therefore, resolved to return; and she did return, in the manner, and under the circumstances, that we have witnessed. But, it now appears, that the ministers had *no thought of her returning*; that they expected, that she would consent to remain abroad, on condition of receiving a good thumping income to be *paid out of the taxes*. Therefore, when they heard, and knew, that Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD was actually gone to meet her, they appear to have taken serious alarm; and to have played off their last scheme for preventing her return.

Mr. BROUGHAM, who, some time ago, received an appointment as her *Attorney-General*, set off, with all speed to meet her in France. Lord HUTCHINSON went off too; and, it was *lucky* enough, that both these persons, the *Legal Adviser of the Queen* and the *Negotiator for the ministers* reached St. Omer's (where] they met her) in the *same carriage*! Nay, we afterwards find, that, when Lord Hutchinson is writing to Mr. Brougham the terms which he has to propose, he employs *Mr. Brougham's brother's hand in the work*! How refined! This is court-etiquette, I suppose! Ancient dandy formality and dignity!

The proposition, as now *explained* by the ministers themselves, in their speeches, was, that the *QUEEN* should receive 50,000 pounds a year, on condition, that she should remain out of the kingdom, and that she should travel, or live, under some title, *other than that of Queen of England*. And, she was told, that, the moment she set her foot in the kingdom, *proceedings would be commenced against her*.

The *QUEEN* received this proposition with *indignation*; and immediately resolved to *brave the threateners to their teeth*. Mr. BROUGHAM *hesitated*, when she asked his opinion. He *did not advise her to come*; and, in his speech of Wednesday night, he very plainly blames Mr. WOOD for advising her to come! She left her "*Legal Adviser*" and the *Negotiator* to commune together; and, fearing some

trick to stop her on her way, and perhaps, to defeat her intention altogether, she hastened away from Saint Omer's, got to Calais, and went instantly on board an English packet in the harbour. The tide was out. The *Pier is lofty*, and the shoal water of great length. But, she bravely went through all difficulties, in order to get clear of the French authorities. When she came off the shore at Dover, the sea was rough, the vessel could not get close in; but, she, at once, ventured into an open boat, seeming not to think herself safe, till she was actually on English ground!

Let us pause here, and reflect for a moment, if we have patience enough, on the nature of this proposition. Here is a lady; a Princess by birth, and a Queen by marriage, offered a sum of money as the price of her abandonment of her title, her state, and her country; and she is told that if she set her foot in that country that she will be prosecuted. To have hesitated one single moment would have been a complete proof of the foulest guilt. All mankind would have pronounced her guilty. It would have been utterly impossible for any one to suggest any thing in her defence; and yet, covered thus with pollution as she would have been, the people of England would have had to pay her fifty thousand pounds a year. The insult offered to the Queen was most outrageous certainly; but we ought never to forget, my friends, that something was to be pinched off from our scanty

meals to go towards making up the money-part of the transaction. Observe, that the Ministers believe the Queen to be guilty, or they did not believe it. If they did believe it, how were they to answer to us for having tendered her *fifty thousand pounds a-year*; for having tendered to a criminal, to one whom they believe to be a polluted woman, as much money annually as goes to the maintenance of *two thousand five hundred labourers' families*? And, if they did not believe her to be guilty; if they did not believe her to be a polluted woman, how are they to answer to us; how are they to answer to the laws of the land, to common justice and humanity, the having made such a proposition to a Queen of England? Let them, whenever they charge us with a want of respect for the Government, give us, at the same time, an answer to these questions. Let them, when they next accuse us of disloyalty; of endeavours to degrade rank and dignity, tell us whether this was a *loyal* proposition; tell us, whether this proposition was calculated to inspire us with respect for the Government, and with veneration for the kingly office and authority.

Monstrous, however, as this proposition was, there was, it seems, found upon the face of the earth, a man to be the bearer of it, and happy I am to say that that man was *not a Radical*! We ought to feel pride, also, that the *legal Adviser*; or, as he is called in the debates, the "*constitutional adviser*," has

taken particular pains of late to convince the world that *he is not a Radical*. Yet, we are now to see, that the whole of the flame is to be imputed to us: all the mischief that has taken place; all that is taking place; and all that may possibly take place in future! Mr. TIERNEY is, indeed, to come in for a small share with us; but amongst us who are called the *faction* and *disaffected*, we are to divide the flame of all the hubbub, all the noise, all the scandal, belonging to this transaction. CASTLEREAGH, in speaking of the advice, supposed to have been given to the QUEEN, to come to England, calls it criminal. He calls the persons giving that advice, *mischievous* and *false* advisers. He says that they advise the QUEEN to make *an appeal to the lowest orders of the people*; he says that he is sorry to perceive that there is no lack of a disposition in *a portion of the country*, to turn the affair to mischievous account; he says that he trusts that she will awaken to a sense of her own situation, and reflect upon the *stain, opprobrium, and reproach* that must await her, if she suffer herself to be the dupe of such *weak, designing, and wicked* men, who, in the worst event, would render her cause *less pitiable*, as well as *more odious*, in the eyes of all honourable men. He says that if the spirits of those partial and garbled disclosures, which were calculated to agitate the country and *awaken crime*, had been suffered to penetrate into her mind; if any individual had

been suffered to approach her person, who from incapacity to give advice, had led her into such a *crooked and dishonourable path*, he trusted she would awaken to a sense of her own dignity, and submit her case to that tribunal only, which would afford the best means of vindicating her character! Mr. BROUGHAM, the "*constitutional adviser*," observed that the Queen had not *courted those Mobs of which the noble lord had spoken*. He prayed and implored the house to consider the Queen's forlorn situation, and *not to blame her* for listening to *certain recommendations*, which he was persuaded were *well meant*, "although he admitted " that they were not those of "*absolute wisdom*. (A LAUGH " HERE!) Undoubtedly he considered those recommendations as *well intended*, and, " therefore, as not justly subject " for an instant to *reprehension*; " but he flung himself on the " House, as the illustrious Female had done for her justification, whether it was very " extraordinary that the conduct " consequent on those recommendations had borne the appearance of making an appeal " of the nature and tendency of " which she was, nevertheless, " not in the slightest degree " aware? To that house she now " applied for justice. Nothing " which he could say could add " to the force of the solemn appeal which she had that night " made to it. But, he might be " permitted to remark that it " was not extraordinary that an " individual placed in the pe-

“culiarly difficult situation of
 “her Majesty, should open her
 “heart to the overflowing af-
 “fection of the honest people
 “of this country. Neglected
 “as she had been by some,
 “slighted by others, not fairly
 “or liberally treated by any,
 “left almost exclusively to her
 “professional advisers, was it
 “surprising that she should,
 “for a moment, yield to the
 “agreeable and soothing feel-
 “ing which must be produced
 “by finding her countrymen (of
 “what rank soever) still cling to
 “her with the affection which
 “they had expressed in former
 “times? He had thought it
 “necessary to make these pre-
 “liminary remarks, in order to
 “show that her Majesty’s
 “having given vent to feelings
 “of gratitude *at the reception*
 “*she experienced*, was not only
 “*not improper*, but incumbent
 “on her. The only way to
 “have avoided the occurrence
 “was not to have come in con-
 “tact with those by whose con-
 “duct it was elicited; and this
 “was an object which was con-
 “templated, but which an un-
 “fortunate accident had defeat-
 “ed.”

Now, what is the plain mean-
 ing of all this pretty talk be-
 tween these two kind and
 affectionate friends of the
 Queen? The first falls foul of
 Mr. ALDERMAN WOOD for the
 advice, which he gave the
 Queen, or, is supposed to have
 given her, to come to England,
 and to enter London publicly
 and by day-light. For being
 supposed to have given this
 advice, the ALDERMAN is, by

the first of these gallant heroes,
 called *incapable, weak, wicked*,
 and every thing that is bad;
 and the *Legal Adviser*, the
 “*Constitutional Adviser*,” an-
 swers the charge by saying that
 the advice was (*he is per-*
suaded). WELL MEANT,
 though not dictated by *absolute*
wisdom; and here followed a
roar of laughter in the Honour-
 able House.

Whether the Alderman will
 suffer this to go off in silence
 on his part we shall see. But,
 the “*constitutional adviser*”
 goes on to *apologize* for the
 Queen’s conduct, not only in
 coming to England, but in her
 receiving gratefully a kind and
 cordial welcome from the peo-
 ple. *Apology!* What does Mr.
 Brougham think, then, that this
 conduct in her needs an *apo-*
logy! Is this an offence? A
 man was, indeed, taken up and
held to bail, at Bolton, in Lan-
 cashire, for going round the
 town to inform the people, that
 “William Cobbett had arrived
 at Liverpool in good health,”
 and the Manchester authorities
 sent a written paper to me to
 let me know, that, if I attempt-
 ed to *pass publicly* through that
 town, *they should interfere*;
 and they actually did bring forth
 horse, foot, and artillery on the
 occasion. It was upon this Man-
 chester principle, I suppose,
 that the *apology* of the “*con-*
stitutional adviser” was found-
 ed. That is to say, that it is a
crime, or, at least, a great *fault*,
 in any one to run the risk of re-
 ceiving marks of respect from
 the people, if those marks of re-
 spect be disagreeable to the

Ministers. And, on this principle, the Queen was not to come to England; or, if she did come, she was to slip along *incog.* and to *steal* in to London by some *back* way, or in the *dark*.

I believe in my heart, that her Majesty neither received nor stood in need of the advice of *any one*. I believe, that she has acted all through from the dictates of her own mind. All her conduct has, upon this great occasion, been marked by that *decision*, *promptitude*, and *sharp-sightedness* for which strong-minded women are always more remarkable than men. They see *quicker* than men of equal comparative mind; and they are more *rapid* in following their thoughts by acts. In cases where great *suspicion* is necessary, they far surpass men. They penetrate more quickly and more deeply into all machinations against them. A bungling hypocrite may deceive a man; but it must be a clever scoundrel indeed that dupes a woman of any mind. Therefore, I firmly believe, that her Majesty was her *own adviser*; that she took the liberty to think, that the "*constitution*" did not forbid her to consult her own credit and honour, and that it permitted her to come into London by day-light! Nay, that, though her "*constitutional adviser*" had "*contemplated*" the preventing her from "*coming in contact*" with popular applause, it was no crime in her to differ in opinion from that "*constitutional*" gentleman! We should be come to

a pretty pass indeed, if she had not a right to pass along the street, and bow to those who welcomed her return. A pretty pass indeed we are come to, if her doing this demands an *apology* from her "*constitutional*" defender.

However, let the advice spring from where it might, the conduct of her Majesty was, upon this occasion, every thing that was *wise* and *brave*; and this will be proved by the result. To be sure that conduct does, as Mr. TIERNEY has said, place the parties to the *negociation* in a most "*piteous plight*," and of all these parties the "*constitutional adviser*" really seems to make the worst figure. He tries hard to wriggle out of the scrape, and he endeavours to cast a slur on the ALDERMAN; but, though the Alderman has not yet *spoken* on the subject, the public can clearly see that he triumphs over the arch adviser. If it were "*not absolute wisdom*" it was something too deep for this deep lawyer. It was a mine sprung under him and the Courtier; and must have left them looking very awkwardly at each other!

As to the question before Parliament, it will not be known how the House of Commons will decide, until what I am now writing has gone to the press. But, it is easy to see, that, be the decision what it may, the Queen will have done infinite service to the *country*, as well as to *herself*, by the bravery that she has displayed, and by the steps that she has taken; for, she will have opened the

eyes of hundreds of thousands, who were blind before her arrival; and, therefore, all the oppressed part of the nation ought to feel great gratitude towards her.

The *conduct* of her Majesty stands in need of no *defence*, except against her "*defender*." And now, my friends, I beseech your attention to some passages in that singular defender's speech. He implores the House to *pause*. And, under what circumstances is the *pause* called for? Why, in the first place, 50,000 pounds a-year are offered to her Majesty, on condition that she will *keep away from the kingdom* and not use the title of *Queen*; and, she is told, that, if she set her foot in the kingdom, *proceedings will be instantly commenced against her*. She comes in defiance of this threat. A message is sent to Parliament accompanied with *evidence relating to her conduct*. And Lord Castlereagh, in moving for the committee distinctly says, that the documents on the table contain *grave accusations supported by the most respectable evidence*.

Thus stands the *charge*. The *QUEEN* sends her message, and demands *publicity*. She demands, that her accusers be *named*; and, in short, that there may be an *open and fair trial*.

Thus stands the question before the people of England and before the whole world. And what, then, when it was proposed by the Ministers to refer evidence to a *secret* committee; what, then, I say, ought, at such a time, and under such circum-

stances, to have been the language of her "*defender*?" Every one will say, that it ought to have been the language of defiance; that he ought to have expressed his indignation at the attempt to submit the paper to secret investigation; that he ought, in the most unqualified manner, to have insisted on the complete innocence of the Royal person who had honoured him with her confidence; that he ought to have challenged her enemies to do their worst; and that, in short, he ought to have abstained from the use of any one single word calculated to excite a suspicion that he entertained a doubt of the result. Instead of this, he calls upon the House not to treat the proposition of the Ministers with indignation and scorn; not to reject it agreeably to the wishes expressed in the message of his royal client; but to *pause*! to stop; to conceive themselves to be approaching the edge of a precipice, all the dangers of which it was impossible for them to foresee! He talked of nothing but of fearful consequences; dreadful results; horrible discoveries; indelible disgrace to royalty, and destruction to all order and all law! Was this the way to *defend* his royal client? Was this the way to convince the House and the public that he, her confidential adviser, knew that she was innocent; leaving out of the question all *feeling*; leaving this out of the question in a case where *he* is concerned; was this the way to prevent the possibility of any one supposing that he

suspected the existence of weakness in the cause of his client? Was this the way, in short, that any man of even common understanding would have acted, if his object had been to *defend* the reputation of the Queen?

I have here nearly described this part of the speech of the "constitutional defender;" but, the passage is so remarkable that I must give it to the reader in the gentleman's own words as I find them reported in the newspapers. After saying that he had advised the Queen not to accept of the precise proposition that was made to her; after saying this, he said that he had felt *unfeigned concern* at the breaking off of the treaty; and, that it was but candid for him to add that if other propositions had been made to her which did not wear the *appearance* of an acknowledgement of guilt, he would have been the first to advise her "to go rather a step *too far* than not far enough, to lend herself to an honourable but a private and amicable adjustment." Now, observe, this gentleman could hear the degrading proposition made to her; he could hear the fifty thousand pounds tendered; he could hear the threat of proceedings against her if she dared to set her foot in England; and *after* this he would have dared to stand up before the Queen and look her in the face and tell her that she ought to lend herself to a private adjustment with the parties who had just made to her that proposition! It is related of Queen Elizabeth, that she gave her favourite the Earl

of Essex a *box in the ear*. What her Majesty might have bestowed on this lawyer if her own sound judgment and promptitude had not withdrawn her from the sphere of contact with him, I shall not pretend to say; but, *certain* it is, if she could have received such advice from him under such circumstances without some most marked expression of her indignation, she must, to all her other excellent qualities, add that of possessing patience and forbearance to a degree beyond those ever before possessed by woman. The truth is (and where is the man so great a fool as not to perceive it?) that there could not be, after the making of the proposition to her by Lord Hutchinson, any private adjustment which would not have been, not only "an *appearance* of an acknowledgement of guilt;" but, an *acknowledgement* itself. This must be seen by every body. It is possible that the private adjustment might have been *kept private*. I say it is *possible*, but it is very unlikely. Nay, it is next to impossible. Her enemies would have had every motive in the world for making it public; and, when once made public, her reputation was blasted for ever. But, whether made public or not, she herself would know it; her adviser would know it; and the Court negotiator would know it; and a woman that could have existed and shown her face in the world under a consciousness of having been a party to such a transaction could have been an object of envy with no creature that

ever appeared in female attire. Yet, to place herself in such a situation is what this learned adviser tells us plainly that he would have counselled !

Is it not well known that, in certain cases, it is infamous to *treat at all* ? Are not nations, in their concerns with each other ; are not individuals, in their disputes, governed by this principle ? If one nation make a proposition to another, which is *essentially* degrading and insulting, is not the treaty instantly broken off ; or is not the nation who has been insulted, wholly dishonoured if they continue the negociation ? If a quarrel take place between two men, and the one in the way of accommodation offer to the other terms essentially degrading, is not that other held to be for ever dishonoured, if he condescend to continue the negociation ? This is so well known, that it needs no more to be insisted on than that summer gives us warmer weather than winter ; and yet this principle, universally acknowledged and acted upon amongst all mankind, amongst all descriptions of persons, down to the very labourers in the fields, would have been abandoned by the advice of this legal defender of the Queen. It was not, then, "*absolute wisdom*," that induced her Majesty to take a different course ; but, it was something a great deal better than *his* absolute wisdom. It was a consciousness of innocence ; it was rectitude of intention ; it was indignation at insult. These were the guides of her Majesty, and they, toge-

ther with her quick discernment, her promptitude and that bravery which will remain a subject of admiration when his harangues will all have been forgotten ; it was these which extricated her from the trammels with which his advice was preparing to surround her, and brought her, swift as the winds, to appeal to the plain understandings and the honest feelings of the people of England.

I now come to that passage of the gentleman's speech, to which I before alluded, and which I shall here insert as I find it reported in the Times newspaper, which in this case, as in all others, contains the fullest report of the speeches delivered in Parliament. Having stated the nature of the advice which he should have given, he proceeds, in the passage I am about to insert, to give the *reason why* he should have offered that advice ; and this he does in the following dread-inspiring words. " His reason was this ;—that, " from the beginning to the end " of these distressing transac- " tions, it had been his most " fervent wish, and upon that " principle his conduct had been " built, that if it were pos- " sible for her Majesty, con- " sistently with her innocence, " her honour, and her safety, " to submit to a private com- " promise rather than provoke " a public discussion, she should " give her consent. In this " question the interest of the " royal family was most deeply " concerned, and the interests " of the constitution were im- " plicated in proportion ; the

" peace, the tranquillity, the
 " very morals of the nation,
 " were involved: we were on
 " the brink of a precipice, or,
 " rather, we were not quite so
 " near the edge as to afford a
 " clear view of all its dangers;
 " and if those who counselled
 " the Crown did not know,
 " they ought to know, that
 " when once the line was
 " passed, retreat was impos-
 " sible, and discussion inevit-
 " able. Not merely was the
 " Queen's character at stake—
 " not merely must the treat-
 " ment which she had received
 " in this or that instance be in-
 " vestigated—not merely must
 " the inquiry extend to this or
 " that illustrious house with
 " which she was connected—
 " but all the private history of
 " all those exalted individuals
 " to whom she was related,
 " might (he did not say must)
 " be forced into the conflict.—
 " Then, the House must give
 " him leave to say, it would
 " have such another session as
 " had been known some eleven
 " years ago, when all public
 " business was suspended, when
 " all feelings of ordinary politi-
 " cal interest were annihilated,
 " when the common state gos-
 " sip of the day was stilled, when
 " parties ceased to engage, and
 " political rancour had been
 " overwhelmed in the great en-
 " grossing topic of the private
 " life, habits and failings of one of
 " the noblest personages in the
 " realm (*Cheers.*) He must be a
 " more sagacious man than he
 " had hitherto had the fortune to
 " meet, who, in the present
 " stage of the business, at no

" great distance perhaps from
 " the commencement of the in-
 " quiry, could pretend to de-
 " scribe the course it would
 " take; but he must be a man
 " indeed of miraculous sagacity
 " (he did not think that even
 " the noble lord was that man,
 " and, if not he, certainly there
 " could be no other) who would
 " take upon himself to say what
 " conflicting interests, without
 " yielding to popular feeling or
 " clamour, not desirous to gratify
 " the greedy appetite of mobs,
 " but holding them bad in
 " themselves, and more dangerous
 " in their embrace than in their
 " enmity, (like some rabid
 " animals, whose saliva was
 " more dreadful than their bite,)
 " might ultimately produce.
 " Who should assert what
 " course men bound by pro-
 " fessional ties to regard no-
 " thing but the safety of their
 " client (he referred not to
 " members of this house, and
 " therefore had no allusion to
 " himself or to his learned col-
 " league) might think it neces-
 " sary to recommend? Others
 " must be trusted—their royal
 " client must rely upon the skill,
 " the knowledge, and the pru-
 " dence of others; and who
 " should decide that absolute
 " necessity might not compel
 " them to advise a proceeding,
 " of which some idea might be
 " formed by those who had
 " marked what had passed in
 " this country eleven years ago?
 " He, then, must be a sagacious
 " man who could assert what
 " course necessity might com-
 " pel; and he must be a bold
 " man who would say, that if

" he were in the situation of a
 " professional adviser of the
 " Queen, he would hesitate for
 " one moment in securing his
 " client, even at such a despe-
 " rate expense. An advocate,
 " be it remembered, had but
 " one point to look to; he was
 " ruined, disgraced, degraded—
 " he might even belong to a
 " Milan tribunal, if he looked to
 " any other interest than that
 " to which his character was
 " pledged. (*Hear, hear.*) But
 " he must be a much bolder
 " man still, who, with all these
 " prospects before his eyes,
 " would plunge the country
 " into such fatal inquiries, if
 " there were even a bare pos-
 " sibility of avoiding them.
 " (*Continued cheers from the*
 " *opposition benches.*) For
 " God's sake—for the sake of
 " the country—for the sake of
 " those whose memories might
 " mislead them, whose confi-
 " dence might betray, or whose
 " blindness might beguile them
 " —for the sake of the wives
 " and daughters of all who
 " loved decency, morality, and
 " who recollected when, but a
 " few years since, the opening
 " of a newspaper was regarded
 " with fear and disgust by the
 " father of every modest and
 " well conducted family—he
 " called upon the house to
 " pause—only to pause, to as-
 " certain if it were yet possible
 " to escape from this threatened
 " calamity."

So that, the amount of all
 this horrifying language is this;
 that he would have advised the
 Queen to submit to terms,
 which I say must have been

everlastingly dishonourable to
 her, lest an investigation into
 her conduct should bring out
 matter that would produce al-
 most the destruction of order
 and of law. He tells the house
 a little further on, that if the
 house go into the matter, they
 must, after they have done
 with the green-bag of the King
 receive one on the part of the
 Queen; that the late Mr.
 Whitbread and himself were
 the only persons who had
 seen the whole of the docu-
 ments it contained: and that
 of late they had been
 much increased. Now, without
 stopping to inquire whether this
 gentleman really consults the
 interests and tranquillity of the
 royal family in throwing out
 such a string of *terrifying hints*;
 whether he does this for the
 sake of preserving their repu-
 tation and for the sake of pre-
 venting the existence of an
 association of ideas, which,
 in these ticklish times, might
 lead the mass of the peo-
 ple to think less respectfully
 with regard to royalty than they
 now think; whether he had the
 real interest of the kingly office
 and of the royal family solely
 in view, without any considera-
 tion of the importance which it
 might be to himself to be dis-
 tinctly known to be the almost
 sole possessor of this immense
 mass of hitherto closely con-
 cealed matter; whether the
 learned gentleman were more
 anxious to prevent the gratifi-
 cation of the greedy appetite
 of mobs, to prevent those
 "*rabid animals*" from partici-
 pating in the enjoyment of this

delectable matter ; whether he were more anxious to do this than to impress the House, the Ministers, the King, and every branch of his royal house, that he, the learned gentleman himself, had almost the exclusive possession of the whole of this gratifying food ; whether he was more anxious to prevent others from acting a "*rabid*" part than to let the world clearly see that he had the power of acting a rabid part himself ; whether, in short, this was a first bold attempt to thrust himself into one of those places which, during the debate he more than once said the present ministers had held too long : how this might be, I shall not pretend to determine ; but, as a *defence of the Queen* ; as a *defence* of his royal client, this passage of his speech was the most extraordinary that ever fell from the lips of mortal man : for, what does it amount to ? to a threat of *recrimination*, and nothing more ! And, I put it to your plain understanding ; to the experience of your whole lives from your childhood to the moment when you shall read this, whether you ever heard of a threat of *recrimination* *unaccompanied with the existence of conscious guilt* ? Does it not happen every day of our lives ; did not happen to us all when we were children ? " I will tell " of your taking the fruit " says one ; " and I will tell of your " taking the sugar," says the other. One Billingsgate drab calls another a thief ; and the thief in return calls the other something else which women

hold to be full as disgraceful as theft. When you hear a man charged with any thing of which he ought to be ashamed ; and when, instead of denying the charge ; instead of challenging his accuser to an investigation ; instead of calling for proof relative to that charge, he says to the accuser, " I know something of you," do you not immediately conclude that he is *guilty of the charge* ? To be sure you do : this is the universal practice of mankind. Nay, we go a great deal farther than this ; for there is a double conclusion : we conclude that the accused party is guilty, and that the accuser is innocent ; and we justly so conclude, because, if the accused party had known of the existence of crimes in the accuser before, he should have made known the crimes before ; and we therefore look upon the allegation of them as being now brought from motives of *spite and revenge*. We accordingly presume the party to be innocent against whom this spite and revenge is brought into operation. In the present case, there is not only all this that I have just been describing ; but there is something in addition to it, and that is, here is a call on the part of this gentleman for the House to *pause*. That is to say, to hush the matter up. This makes a great addition to the quantity of suspicion which the threat of *recrimination* is calculated to excite : because, it would seem to say that, if the one party will say nothing more, the other will say nothing more ; and this is

the "constitutional defender's" way of *defending* the character of his royal client!

Is this the way in which that royal client *herself* has proceeded in the various long, tedious and vexatious chain of proceedings against her? Has she ever in any part of her defence on any occasion, put forward recriminatory matter? Let any one read the contents of Mr. PERCEVAL'S book, and they will there see how different her mode of defence was from that which this gentleman has adopted. Doubtless she had advisers then; but those advisers knew a great deal better than to pursue a mode of defence such as that upon which we are now observing. Doubtless, during the course of a trial, and particularly a trial relating to a subject of the nature of that here contemplated, matter may be given in evidence, which matter may not redound to the credit of the plaintiff or prosecutor, or to the divers parties concerned in the prosecution; and then such evidence is not to be looked upon as recriminatory matter arguing a consciousness of guilt in the party under trial; because it forms part of the evidence necessary to the defence. But, if recriminatory matter be *threatened* in order to prevent a trial, then, it amounts to the strongest possible presumptive evidence of consciousness of guilt in the party accused; and yet if the passage of the learned adviser's speech, which I have just quoted; and especially when taken in conjunction with another part which I am now going to

quote, and which more immediately follows the passage already quoted; if these do not amount to a threat of recrimination in order to prevent further proceedings, there is no meaning in the words of the English language. If these do not amount to such a threat and for such a purpose, I must beg this learned teacher of the nation to be very clear in his "*Education Digest*," to give us a clue by which we may get at the meaning of words when put together in sentences by a political lawyer.

The whole of this speech is remarkable for tortuousness of arrangement, round-about expression, and dubiousness of meaning and of object; so that, it requires no small pains to come at the real intention of the speaker. However, we clearly enough understand that he wished the House to pause; that he wished it to stop further proceedings; and that he intended to recommend to the Queen to enter again into negotiation with the ministry or their *agents*, of whom he denied that he had been one, though it appeared that he had been informed a month before of the intention of the Ministers to take proceedings against the Queen if she landed in England; and though Mr. CANNING did, in his manly and feeling answer to the learned gentleman mention some things quite enough so stagger the faith of even the toutest believer in the learned gentleman's total absence of all communication and concert with the Ministers.

After having, as we have seen, threatened recrimination unless the proceedings were put a stop to, he proceeded to state how he should go to work, in order to prevail upon the Queen to submit to a renewal of the negotiations; and these are his words. "If the means of avoiding it were yet afforded, he put it to hon. Members, as they valued every thing that was dear to them—as they valued the character of England as a nation—whether they would not hesitate before they opened a subject disgusting in itself, and most destructive in its consequences. Let it not be forgotten that there were three parties who took a deep interest in this discussion. First, the King, who was most desirous that the inquiry should proceed—who felt that he had nothing to dread from disclosures, and who was unfortunately impressed with the idea that in his high office it was necessary for his vindication that something should be undertaken. Next, the Queen, who acted nearly, if not entirely, in the same spirit, who thought it requisite for her own security, for the clearing of her own honour, that the inquiry should be persisted in to the end: she shrunk not from it, but courted it: she was prepared to meet it: she had come from safety into—he would not say *jeopardy*, because the innocent could know no *jeopardy*, but—trouble, vexation, and anxiety, in going through the whole of this painful, and, in his view, *odious and frightful investigation*. Both of these high parties would instantly reject the advice he was now tendering; but there was a third party, whose wishes he hoped the House would not consult, he alluded to those *out of doors, who were possessed of a greedy and diseased appetite for slander*, and who only gave up their chase of vulgar private scandal on some such emergency as the present, where the allurements were increased by its affecting the most exalted individuals in the land. Those who laboured under the infliction of such a *morbid desire*, and those, who *basely made a profit by pandering for its gratification*, had a direct interest in urging forward the inquiry, and most bitterly would they be disappointed if it did not proceed. They formed a powerful body; but he was not their representative; and if he had the honour of being a servant of her Majesty, he had also the higher honour of being a member of this House. As her servant he would not disobey her commands, and where her honour was at stake, he would do his utmost to defend it; but in the humble performance of his duty he felt called upon here even to *thwart* her Majesty's inclination, and he would tell her, Madam, if negotiation yet be possible, rather go too far, and throw yourself upon your country and upon parliament for your vindication, than not

"go far enough: if yet it be possible to avert the ruin which this course, if persisted in, will bring upon the nation, do your utmost to postpone the calamity."

This is very good abuse upon the publishers of newspapers and upon the public itself.—There can be little doubt that the learned gent. alludes more particularly to the *Times* newspaper, which has taken so just, so manly, and so powerful a part in these discussions; but, who does he mean by the people *out of doors*? Why, he means the public, to be sure; and the public he accuses of being possessed of a greedy and diseased appetite for slander, and says that they will be cruelly mortified if the investigation does not proceed. And which investigation he calls an odious and frightful one; and deprecates it as he values every thing that is dear to the character of England as a nation.—Why should he accuse the English people of possessing a greedy and diseased appetite for slander? and say that they will prefer slander on the Royal Family to any other species of slander; And why should he call it *pandering* for this gratification; why should he accuse of such pandering those who write for the information of the public? Having made use of these expressions, having resorted to this mode of *defending* his royal client, he need not, in words, have called our recollection to the year 1809, when the discussions were going on with regard to the corruptions of

which *Mrs. Clarke* was the agent; he need not, to all the rest of what he said, have added this allusion and given rise to this association of ideas, so manifestly disadvantageous to his royal client: he need not have carried us back by precise words to the year 1809; for, his train of argument, so degrading to the cause of the royal lady whose defence had been placed in his hands; the train of argument, which he now resorted to, was precisely the train of argument resorted to upon that occasion. Eloquent as his abuse of the press and of the public; strong as is his picture of the pandering disposition of the one and of the voracious, foul and disloyal appetite of the other, that picture really contains not one single trait or tint which will not be found in the speeches of the injudicious, not to say treacherous "*defenders*" of his Royal Highness the Duke of York. In many of the points, agitated at that time, grounds were offered, and fair grounds too, for such a defence of his Royal Highness as would have satisfied any body but a fool, a fanatic or a real enemy of kingly government; and, as but a very small portion of the public consisted of men of this description, his Royal Highness might, by fair and candid argument, have been ably defended, as to many parts, at least, of his conduct. But, not so thought his defenders. They flew on upon the *press* and upon the *people*, in precisely the same manner, in precisely the same strain of invective, and in almost precisely the same words,

the same "rabid" words, which have now come from the lips of the learned author of that famous "*Digest*" which he has in petto for the education, literary, moral, political and religious, of this people of "morbid desire," of "greedy appetite for slander," and of "peculiar taste for royal scandal." This mode of defence in the case of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, produced, as the learned gentleman can recollect as well as I, a degree of irritation in the public mind, never equalled, perhaps, upon any former occasion since the days of James the Second. The public have feeling as well as the members of Parliament. They are not very fond of that expression "*out of doors*;" but, at any rate, whenever it is made use of, it should be made use of without any thing of a degrading and insulting nature. Great care should be taken, in case of degradation and insult, to be very discriminating; to point out the particular class levelled at; and almost the particular individuals; because, even those persons who look upon the members of the House of Commons as being really and truly the representatives of the people, do not think it quite natural that the people should be spoken of with contumely by their representatives. In looking back, therefore, to the famous year of 1809, the learned adviser, even supposing him not to have been wholly under the guidance of "*absolute wisdom*," ought to have been taught a little by what took place at that

period; and, he ought to have remembered that the public, the moment the *defenders* of the royal Duke began their work of defence by the most outrageous and most "rabid" attacks upon the conduct of the press and upon the disposition of the people to seek the gratification of an appetite for slander; he ought to have remembered that, from the moment this mode of defence made its appearance, the great mass of the people concluded that those defenders felt a consciousness that they were unable to produce any thing like a real defence. Therefore, to carry the public mind back to that period; to produce an association of ideas such as must be produced by so carrying it back; to assimilate in this way the case of his royal client with the case which was then agitated; was, in my humble opinion, to do the very thing which the most bitter enemy of her Majesty (if such enemy she can have upon earth) would have wished to see done.

But, let us now come to the main point of all; and that is, the advice which that gentleman tells the House *he is now prepared to give to her Majesty*. The words, as above quoted, are these; "as her servant, he would not disobey her commands; and where *her honour was at stake*, he would do his utmost to defend it; but, in the humble performance of his duty, he felt called upon here even to *thwart* her Majesty's inclination, and he would tell her; 'Madam, if 'negociation yet be possible,

“ ‘ rather go *too far*, and throw
 “ ‘ yourself upon your country
 “ ‘ and upon Parliament for your
 “ ‘ vindication, than not go far
 “ ‘ enough: if it yet be possible
 “ ‘ to avert the *ruin*, which this
 “ ‘ course, if persisted in, will
 “ ‘ bring upon the nation, do
 “ ‘ your utmost to postpone the
 “ ‘ calamity.’ ”

Now, I put it to any candid man of plain understanding, whether these be expressions to be expected from the lips of the defender of a woman's reputation? It is impossible for us to conclude that this man, who is in all the secrets of her Majesty, does not entertain some terrible *fears* as to the result of an investigation into her conduct. Why, upon any other supposition, should he apprehend *ruin*, and ruin to the nation, too, from this investigation? It is impossible for us not to conclude, that he thinks such facts must come out as will give at least a most terrible shock to the public mind. Upon any other supposition than this, we really must conclude that the gentleman was in a “ *rabid* ” state when he uttered these words. In short, I defy any man to say that there is in this case any other than this alternative: either the speaker knew that some dreadful facts would come out, most dangerous to the safety of the throne, or that the speaker himself was out of his senses; or, at the very least, that he was not under the guidance of “ *absolute wisdom*.”

The main point, however, is the *advice* which the “ constitutional defender ” is, as the re-

port of the speech tells us, now about to give. The Queen thinks it requisite, for her own security, for the clearing of her own honour, that the inquiry shall be persisted in to the end. Her Majesty is very right; and though it may be consistent with the legal defender's sense of duty, while he says that she is innocent, to represent the trouble, vexation, and anxiety that she has to go through as a state of “ *jeopardy* ; ” though the use of this word may be consistent with his sense of duty, still he does say that she is innocent. Well, if she be innocent, as she certainly is, what advice ought she to receive other than that which would lead her to insist upon the full enjoyment of all her rights; all and every one of her rights; or to insist upon a full, open, and fair trial? What other advice is there to give? This gentleman may talk as long as he pleases of the greedy and diseased appetite of the public; of the morbid desire of the people and of that of the press who “ *basely* ” would make a profit of “ pandering for the gratification of this morbid desire ; ” he may talk about this as long as he pleases; but the public have *no desire to see any investigation at all*. The proposition at St. Omer's, that never-to-be-forgotten proposition and the still-less-if-possible-to-be-forgotten threat with which the proposition was accompanied; neither of these arose out of the morbid desire of the public, nor from that pandering disposition which is here ascribed to the press. That pro-

position and that threat arose not out of any desire of the public; not out of any desire of those that this teacher of the nation calls "*mob*" and compares to "*rabid animals*," but it arose out of the desire of other parties with whom the learned gentleman was in some sort co-operating. The public have, therefore, no blame to take to themselves upon this occasion. The press, except the *ultra loyal* part of it, has, in no instance within my recollection, endeavoured to foment the differences unhappily existing between the present partners of the throne. And, coming to those "*disaffected*" persons to whom Lord Castlereagh alluded, and who, he said, would endeavour to profit from the unhappy differences to further their own seditious purposes, let me ask the honourable gentleman whether he can point to one single document, one single speech, or one single instance of any sort, in which the reformers have made even the slightest attempt to avail themselves of any advantage that might have been offered to them by this untoward circumstance relating to the relative situation of the royal husband and wife? They never have, but, I could refer the honourable gentleman to the writings of those *loyal* persons, the Giffords, the Bowleses, and the rest of that most loyal and most hungry tribe, in which he would find every possible effort made to rake up dirt from this source wherewith to soil and fix an everlasting stain upon the character of his present Majesty.

Therefore, the public in general, and particularly the reformers, having never meddled with this matter, the whole people are unjustly accused upon this occasion; and I believe that there is no desire on the part of the people, that any investigation at all should take place; provided always, however, and let that clearly be understood to be my meaning as far as I am concerned, that her Majesty the Queen, for justice sake in the first place, for her own sake in the next place, and for the honour of the women of this kingdom in the next place; that her Majesty be put in full and entire possession of all and every one of her rights as Queen of this country. If this be done, the people will of course look upon it that her Majesty is innocent of every thing that can in the mind of any sensible and candid person, reflect disgrace upon her sex and her high station. This will be quite enough for the people. It is for those perambulating budgets of slander, or as they are well described by the Times news-paper "the reptiles in Bond-street, filthy with snuff and blinded with whiskers;" it is for wretches like these to foment the difference and to urge on an investigation in order to get out something to justify the slanders which their sycophancy and their desire to live upon the labours of the people have urged them to propagate; it is for reptiles like these to desire to bring out the lies of turned-off valets and *femmes-de-chambres*; it is for reptiles like these to stand in need of stuff

like this to enliven the circle of their gaming-tables and their stews and their other infamous places of resort; but the people of this country, who, generally speaking, and almost universally speaking, live very moral lives, and are happy in their own domestic relations, stand in need of no such gratification. But, they have heard of the insult, they have read the proposition, they have read the threat, and with the name of a lord at the bottom of them; and, if I can judge of the people by myself, they will never be satisfied until the infamous insult receive *reparation*; and that reparation is to be obtained but in one of two ways: an open and fair investigation; or, the placing of her Majesty in the full enjoyment of all and every one of her rights as Queen of England.

This is the feeling of the people; and how is this feeling to be met by the advice which the learned gentleman says he intends to give. He says that he will do his *utmost* to defend her honour where that is at stake. *Utmost* was not a very good word upon this occasion, in my humble opinion. If I had had the honour to be the defender of a Queen, I would have pawned, not my "*utmost*"; but my own honour; that is to say, I would have pledged myself at once and to a certainty to defend her honour. I would not have made use of a word in a case like this which should have implied a possibility of doubt in my own mind. I would have spoken as if I had been as sure

as I was of night succeeding day. I would have spoken as if the *bare word* of a Queen was quite sufficient to make me certain as to the result. Or, *I would not have spoken at all*. In such a case there is no middle course to steer. That which WHITFIELD said in a fanatical flight may be said in seriousness here, that he who *doubts* is *damned*. To be damned is a very bad thing; but in such a case it is better to be damned than to appear to doubt. This wary gentleman seems, however, to be made of very different materials. He will go to the Queen, he says, and tell her that if negociation be yet possible (mind, if it be yet possible), to go into it, by all means; and when she is got into it, rather to go *too far* than not go far enough; and this you will observe, my friends, with those very identical parties who made her the proposition at St. Omer's to take a sum of money, to drop her title, to sneak about on the continent in dishonour, and who threatened her in case of non-compliance, with a prosecution for criminal conduct. We have heard, my friends, most villainous abuse heaped upon us radicals. We have been stigmatized as the "*lower orders*." Now I firmly believe from the bottom of my soul, that amongst all the ragged radicals in this our distressed and ragged country, there is not one single man who will not feel his blood boil within him at the idea of such advice as this being tendered, being uttered by a lawyer to the

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Queen of this country. "Where her honour is concerned!" Why, her honour is concerned in the very existence of a negotiation. There can be no negotiation entertained by her with the parties who made the former proposition and uttered the threat, without an abandonment of honour. To treat with those parties is dishonour in itself. And as to the throwing of herself upon her country and the Parliament for her vindication, what does that mean? What import have these words, I wonder, in the "Education Digest" forthcoming? How is her vindication to be made, without trial, or without a full recognition of her rights? Process is begun against her. Rights are withheld in consequence of the accusation. This withholding is punishment. Cease the process and give the rights, and there is vindication. But, any thing short of giving the rights and giving them all, too, is punishment still, and presumption of guilt. This is what I should say, if I were the advocate of the Queen. - Her Majesty is called upon to *throw herself* upon nobody and nothing. She is called upon to do no act, to place herself in no situation to which this phrase, long appropriated to the purlieus of the Old Bailey, can be applicable. If I were the legal adviser of her Majesty, I would, if I had been accustomed to have criminals under my safe conduct, have endeavoured to drop the language of the cells of Newgate, and would by no means have thought to advise

her to *throw herself* upon any thing or any body: but, to continue in the dignified course which her Majesty has always pursued; that is, demand the full enjoyment of her rights, or, if they were refused, a fair and open trial.

Whether the learned gentleman will have the hardihood to stand up before the Queen and offer her the advice which he has described in the passage of his speech above quoted by me, I cannot tell; but I am quite sure that advice will be received with the same indignation and scorn that were the lot of the proposition and the threat at St. Omers. Her Majesty is here safe in England. She is in no danger; not even from that species of gentry, the employment of whom this same learned gentleman not long ago so ably defended, to the infinite satisfaction of the ministers. And, by the way, it is not very surprising, that the same person who so fully approved of the employment of Edwards, whom Mr. Alderman Wood so laudably endeavoured to bring to justice; it is not very surprising that this same learned gentleman should not attribute other measures, supposed to be imputable to the Alderman, to the dictation of "absolute wisdom." In a case like that of her Majesty, which needs no support but that of truth, fair dealing and justice, an ounce of honesty is worth a waggon load of craft; and I am very certain that her Majesty's clear sightedness will be a sufficient protec-

tion against all the attempts that may be made to inveigle her into a compromise that would tarnish her fame.

In order to be able to judge properly of the conduct of the learned gentleman in this affair, we must not stop when we get as far back as St. Omers. We must go back to the month of July 1819, when, as we learn from the speech of Mr. Canning, a communication was made to the ministers, respecting the Queen, from the learned gentleman himself; and Mr. Canning says that every one of the propositions made to the Queen at St. Omers were founded on that communication; and, *therefore*: (mark the *therefore*); therefore the ministers did not suppose that the St. Omers proposition would be regarded degrading. Mr. CANNING says farther, that he could well understand that the QUEEN might receive the proposition with indignation, but that he could not understand how the learned gentleman came to receive it either with indignation or surprise. The following is the passage of Mr. CANNING'S speech. "They were asked how they could think of making proposals to her Majesty which must have been instantly rejected? Ministers had, at an early period of these discussions received a communication under the seal of secrecy; the conditions under which they received that communication prevented him from stating the quarter from whence it came; but when Ministers

were goaded for originating such monstrous propositions as those made to her Majesty were described to be, he felt it necessary to say, that nothing but the obligation of secrecy prevented him from naming the quarter from whence that communication came in the month of July, 1819; and every one of the propositions made to her Majesty were founded on that communication. Those propositions, he was entitled to say, were but the prototypes of those suggested to Government from a quarter which certainly did not commit her Majesty (*hear, hear, from Mr. Brougham*), but still from a quarter which led the Government to suppose that the propositions made to her Majesty were not likely to be considered as degrading. He would declare upon his honour, that he for one felt the most undoubted confidence, that they would have been accepted. If, therefore, the negociation failed, as it unfortunately had failed, the lively and unexpected indignation of her Majesty, he could well understand (*hear, hear, hear!*)—but from the propositions that had been made he saw no reason for the expression of surprise or indignation coming from any other quarter. He believed the honourable and learned gentleman went to the Queen anxious to complete the treaty in a satisfactory manner. He (*Mr. Canning*) was astonished when he heard that the ne-

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"negociation had failed; but what he considered still more extraordinary, were the terms of surprise and indignation expressed by the honourable and learned gentleman."

In another part of his speech, Mr. Canning spoke of Mr. Brougham as having been employed in the negociation by Lord Liverpool! This was a pretty tale, indeed. No wonder that he travelled in the same boat and same chaise with Lord Hutchinson. No wonder that he did not look upon her Majesty's speedy departure from him at St. Omers as having been dictated by absolute wisdom; or, in other words, as proceeding from what he evidently wished to mark, as the folly of Mr. Alderman Wood! When Mr. Brougham came to endeavour to explain these things alluded to in Mr. Canning's speech, he said and asserted most solemnly on his honour, that her Majesty was not in the slightest degree implicated in those proceedings; and that she had no more knowledge of them and no more influence over them than the child unborn. Here is a pretty matter to come out. Here is this offensive and insulting proposition traced back by the ministers to the "constitutional adviser" himself; that very "constitutional adviser," who complains of *morbid desire* in the public, and of *base pandering* on the part of the press!

If the Queen knew nothing of that communication which Mr. Canning spoke of, by what authority did he make that proposition? Who gave him authority to make any communi-

cation at all? However, he comes next to speak of his having been employed, as was asserted by Mr. Canning, in the St. Omers negociation by Lord Liverpool; and, upon this he says, that no one of his Majesty's ministers had ever made such a proposition to him. He had, he said, waited on Lord Liverpool, not at the desire of Lord Liverpool. He had not applied to him. *He had made an application to a higher quarter.* Now, that must have been to the King; and he was himself the bearer of a proposition from Lord Liverpool to the Queen. Here we see the gentleman pretty thick in the business. Very much like an agent on both sides; and, as Mr. Tierney observed, all the parties concerned in the negociation had got themselves into a most piteous plight. The learned gentleman observed in his explanation, that he, "at present, felt himself under a difficulty of entering into his *own defence.*" And, verily, he seems to have been in difficulty enough. "But, he pledged himself, *when the enquiry was at an end*, to bring forward that defence, and if he did not show that there was nothing inconsistent in being a party to the proposal of 1819, and if he did not show that there was nothing inconsistent in his taking part in the St. Omers negociation, and also in taking the course which he had now done in the present discussion, he hoped what, think you my friends? to be d—d? No: but he hoped that the House would never

"give any credit to an assertion of his hereafter." And so I say too; and so we say all.

After these disclosures, which we feel as interesting as any that the Green Bag can contain, and infinitely more interesting to us, the people, we shall feel but very little uneasiness at this learned adviser's attacks on our morbid desires, on our greedy appetites and on the base pandering of the press. We shall, if we keep these disclosures in view, be able to console ourselves for the expression of the learned gentleman's disapprobation, and shall wait without ungovernable impatience for the production of that famous "Education Digest" which is to instruct us in the practice of sincerity, fidelity, and an absence of greediness. It has been observed, for some little time past, that the learned gentleman has appeared to take a longing look across the House. His memorable defence of the employment of spies, which was so loudly applauded by Mr. Canning, as a complete justification of the ministers in their pursuing that amiable system, was, it will be perceived by looking back a little, co-existent in point of time with his interviews with Lord Liverpool, relating to the St. Omers negotiation; or, at least, to some negotiation of somewhat the same kind. It was rumoured at that very time, that he was sheering off from the Whigs; and, now comes out the clear developement of the matter. No wonder that the learned gentleman is so

outrageous at the Times newspaper which so laudably hastened to give to the public the insulting proposition and threat contained in the letter of Lord Hutchinson! No wonder that, in his rage he accuses the editor of base pandering for the sake of profit; and no wonder that he calls his readers "mob" and compares them to "rabid animals!"

"His royal mistress," for I will not call her so, has had, in her time, God knows, enough of spies and of the employers of spies. It is notorious that she has been sacrificed by the means of a set of the most infamous spies, some in high life and some in low life, that ever were suffered by God to infest the Creation. To have been able to exist at all among such pests is a thing really miraculous. In all the three professions there have been spies found to dog her steps. There is hardly a rank or degree in life which has not afforded more than one, two, or three spies and traitors to undermine and endeavour to destroy her. Both the political parties have afforded spies, betrayers of private confidence, pretended and treacherous friends, in abundance. But, amongst all the scores that have beset her and betrayed her and said and sworn falsely against her, there never has yet been found one single man known to be a sincere advocate of Parliamentary Reform. It is amongst the Reformers, and amongst them alone, that she has found disinterested friends, and warm and efficient support. It is impossi-

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ble to form an idea of conduct more honourable, more generous, more truly noble than that of Mr. Alderman Wood towards her Majesty. The Alderman has several sons, who from their education may, probably, have fair pretensions to elevation in life, and such elevation as cannot be obtained without the countenance of persons in power. Not only, therefore, can he not have had any interested motive in view, upon this occasion; but he must have been well convinced, that the step he was taking would most effectually operate during his whole lifetime, against him and against his family, in that road of ambition along which all rich people wish to travel. He knew that her Majesty would have no power to procure either honours, preferments or emoluments of any sort. He knew, also, that he should incur the strong displeasure of the court, of a tremendously powerful government, of all the great of the country; and of every thing that could by possibility do him mischief. He knew he should have to endure the taunts of keen and experienced debaters, for whom he was not a match. It is, therefore, impossible to conceive conduct more truly praise-worthy. I am quite satisfied, and the public are satisfied, that he has been actuated by no feeling of ambition, of vanity, or of any thing selfish; but by that pure and innate love of justice which has marked his conduct in all the transactions of his public life. The Alderman is a brave as well as an honest man; and

wherever oppression has made its appearance, and he has been able to combat it, he has always been ready to rush forward. Her Majesty was much safer in his hands than she would have been in the hands of almost any other man that could have been picked out of this whole kingdom. She acted with perfect wisdom; yes, it was *absolute* wisdom, to do what she did at St. Omers, at Calais, and at Dover. If she did stand in need of advice it was most fortunate indeed that the honest, sincere, and humane Alderman was with her. The learned gentleman said, in speaking against the Alderman's motion with regard to Edwards the spy, that, as long as there were such men as Thistlewood and Ings in the world, there ought to be such men as Edwards; but it may be said with much more propriety, that as long as there are in the world such men as the negotiators of St. Omers, there ought also to be such men as Alderman Wood.

W. COBBETT.

P. S. I should be curious to learn whether Lord HUTCHINSON has returned; and, if he have, whether he made a public or a private entry into London.

[From the Observer.]

"St. Omers, Thursday Night,
June 1.

"Her Majesty the Queen of England arrived here this morning at half-past five o'clock. A courier reached l'Hôtel de l'Ancienne Poste at half-past one (in the night), announcing her Majesty's near approach. He

said her Majesty might be expected immediately; but, owing to the difficulty of procuring horses, her Majesty's progress was retarded in such manner as to detain her till the hour we have mentioned.

"The courier dispatched by her Majesty from Dijon, whose arrival at Calais, and subsequent embarkation for Dover, we have already noticed, was charged with a letter to Mr. Brougham, in which her Majesty informed that Gentleman that it was her intention to be at St. Omers on Wednesday, and requested his presence at that place, to confer on the step she was about to take in immediately proceeding to England. At the time of the departure of this courier her Majesty had not been joined by Alderman Wood and Lady Anne Hamilton, although she had received letters from them announcing their intention to meet her on the road.

"After the departure of the courier, her Majesty again continued her journey to Montbard, which she reached on Saturday morning at seven o'clock. Here her Majesty retired to rest, and when at dinner was agreeably surprised at the arrival of Mr. Alderman Wood and Lady Hamilton, who by keeping the route pointed out by Count Vasali, were thus enabled to fall in with her Majesty without difficulty. They had missed the courier on the road, who, it was supposed, must have taken another direction. Her Majesty received the worthy Alderman and Lady Anne Hamilton with great condescension and kindness, and expressed much pleasure at receiving such an accession to her suite. At six o'clock the same evening, they all pursued their course to Villeneuve, which they reached the next day. Here, upon consultation with Mr. Alderman Wood, her Majesty repeated her determination to proceed forthwith to England, there to assert her rights as Queen, and openly to meet the accusations of her secret enemies. She seemed to be perfectly acquainted with many of the stories which had been circulated to her prejudice. She treated them with contempt, and said she would fearlessly throw herself upon the justice and candour of her people. Indeed, she added, that she would long since have been in England, had not her advisers recommended her to wait

until his Majesty's Government should afford her the means of going thither in a manner becoming her illustrious rank. Her Majesty having now resolved no longer to delay her intentions, immediately sat down and wrote three letters—one to the Right Hon. Lord Liverpool, another to the Right Hon. Lord Melville, and a third to his Royal Highness the Duke of York. The first of these important documents, we understand, was a dignified demand that a palace should be forthwith prepared for her reception, as she intended proceeding to London without delay. The second to Lord Melville, as First Lord of the Admiralty, was a desire that a royal yacht should be sent on Friday to Calais, to receive her on board: and a third to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, was a recapitulation of both demands, as well as a protest against the manner in which she had been treated.

"These letters her Majesty instantly sent off by a courier, and it was this messenger who, on Tuesday night, on his coming to Calais, erroneously stated that he had left her Majesty at Valenciennes. This man gained Dover on Wednesday morning, and delivered his dispatches the same night in London. His orders were to return with as little delay as possible to her Majesty, and to join her at St. Omers.

"Her Majesty remained at Villeneuve that night, and the next morning pursued her route to Melun; from thence, avoiding Paris, she went directly to Abbeville. She reached Abbeville on Wednesday morning, and threw herself on a bed, to gain a little repose.

"During her Majesty's retirement, several English families, resident at Abbeville, requested to be admitted to pay her their personal respects. They were, however, informed of the fatigues which her Majesty had undergone, and of her inability to receive the kindnesses which were intended.

"At four o'clock a courier was sent off to St. Omers, with instructions to have beds prepared for her Majesty and her suite; and at six her Majesty recommenced her wearisome journey. As she was about to leave the inn, the English inhabitants already alluded to were in attendance, and as she passed through the hall of the inn, they bowed

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most respectfully. Her Majesty was much affected by this testimony of their affection, and uttering a few words of thanks, and gracefully returning the salute, she hurried into her carriage.

"The cavalcade now commenced the last and most difficult stage of their route. From Abbeville to St. Omers they were scarcely able to obtain a single change of horses, and those that were procured, were brought from the fields and ridden by the ploughmen. In one instance, where the courier had called at the post-house, and had announced the approach of her Majesty, the post-master, who had but three horses in his stable, was so alarmed that he ran off and concealed himself, and was not to be found when his services were required. It was to these delays that the late arrival of her Majesty was attributable.

"M. Degacher and his wife (an English woman), who had made every arrangement for the accommodation of their royal guest, had almost come to the conclusion that she had stopped at some other house on the road—when the well-known cracking of the postillions' whips, as they drove down the street, gave notice of the approach of some of the party.

"In a few seconds afterwards, Mr. Alderman Wood, who, with the Count Vasali, had come forward to see that every thing was in readiness, entered the inn-yard, and ordered fires and refreshments. The worthy Alderman appeared to be a good deal fatigued, but still shewed a praiseworthy activity in securing the comfort of his royal mistress.

"An English Gentleman (Mr. Moreland), who, with his family, were on their way to Paris, now rose from his bed, and tendered the use of his rooms, which were in a retired part of the building, for the use of her Majesty, but this was not necessary. He also expressed a hope that he might be allowed to pay his personal respects to her Majesty in the course of the day.

"After a short interval, the renewed cracking of whips called all who were in attendance to the gate, where her Majesty and suite were seen advancing: and here a serious accident had nearly occurred, in consequence of the want of experience in the drivers. In descending the hill one of the leaders of her Majesty's carriage fell, and for

a few seconds there was reason to apprehend that the carriage would have been overturned. The prompt assistance of the persons present, however, prevented this misfortune, and her Majesty was driven safely to the inn.

"A carpet was spread on the steps, and she immediately alighted; and leaning on the arms of Alderman Wood and Count Vasali entered the house. She appeared to be somewhat exhausted from the fatigue she had undergone, but soon recovering herself, she resumed her wonted spirits. She ascended to her bed-chamber, accompanied by Lady Hamilton and some of her female attendants, of whom there were three—two French women and one Piedmontese.

"Her Majesty was dressed in a rich twilled sarsenet pelisse, of a puce colour, lined with ermine, and wore on her head a white willow hat, similar in shape to the present fashionable Leghorn hats. Notwithstanding the unfavourable effects which must have accrued from the journey which she had just accomplished, she looked extremely interesting. It was not a little singular, that the bed-chamber into which her Majesty was first shewn, was that in which the late Duke of Kent, when coming with the Duchess of Kent to England, had slept. Her Majesty preferring a room where she could have her female attendants close to her (her uniform habits), chose a room of a less magnificent description, in the upper part of the house. It may now be interesting to our readers to state the persons who composed her Majesty's suite. There were five carriages in all. The first was that in which Alderman Wood and Count Vasali arrived. It was a sort of calash, drawn by three horses. The second was an English post chariot, yellow body, with "C. P. W." and the royal arms in the pannels, drawn by four horses. In this were her Majesty, Lady Anne Hamilton, and a fine little female child, about three years old, whom her Majesty, in conformity with her benevolent practices on former occasions, has adopted. Then came a large English travelling carriage, similar in colour, and the pannels emblazoned in the same way with the chariot. In this were her Majesty's three female domestics. There were two other calashes, in which were

Mr. Austin, the young man adopted by her Majesty at Blackheath, whose name has been so repeatedly mentioned; Mr. Wood, jun. and several male branches of her Majesty's household; among these, we believe, we may include the Count Bergami, her Majesty's Chamberlain, respecting whom there have been such repeated speculations. This Gentleman, it appears, has engaged her Majesty's confidence, in consequence of the fidelity with which he had attended to her pecuniary concerns. It is not certain whether he will accompany her Majesty to England. He is a tall, robust, military looking man, of middle age, and was respectfully attentive to her Majesty's person; his manners are those of a man who had moved in the highest circles.

"After her Majesty had partaken of some refreshments, she retired to bed; and when this dispatch left St. Omers, she was anxiously expecting the return of her couriers. One of these persons was to bring her Majesty some articles of dress from London.

"Her Majesty has expressed a full determination to proceed to Dover by a common packet-boat, if the yacht which she has demanded be not sent: and if a royal palace is refused, she has had an offer of the beautiful house of Mr. Angerstein, on Blackheath, which she means to accept. She evinces a strong desire to be in England.

"Soon after her Majesty had reached l'Hotel l'Ancienne Porte, the Captain of the guard on duty at the gates of St. Omers, arrived at the Inn, and expressed an intention of granting to her Majesty a guard of honour, to be placed at the entrance to the hotel, as long as she should remain in the town.

"The offer having been communicated to her Majesty, she said that, however flattered she might be by the attention of the officer in question, yet she felt herself bound to decline the intended distinction. In her progress through France, she had been treated with studied neglect; and she knew too well what was due to the high rank which she held, to accept from an isolated town that which had been withheld from her elsewhere, and which she could not but consider as an offence, not towards herself personally,

but towards that nation of which she was the Queen.

"The officer left the hotel, apparently mortified; but whether his offer proceeded from the suggestions of his own gallantry, or from orders which he had received from his superiors, we were unable to ascertain.

"Upon the arrival of Mr. Brougham and the courier with answers from Lord Liverpool and Lord Melville, it is anticipated that her Majesty will, without delay, advance to Calais; from thence embark, and once more visit the shores of 'Old England.'

"Friday.

"Her Majesty was yesterday so much fatigued that she was unable to quit her bed chamber to attend the dinner party. She is this morning, we are happy to state, improved in health and spirits.

"The courier who carried the letter from her Majesty to Mr. Brougham, arrived last night. Mr. Brougham stated that he would leave London on Thursday morning, and that in all probability he would be at St. Omers this day. Her Majesty anxiously expects his arrival.

"Her Majesty expresses most fervently her desire to reach England. She always appears cheerful, except when speaking of the Princess Charlotte, to whose memory her heart is fondly attached.

"Her Majesty makes constant inquiries after every person with whom she was acquainted in England, and seems fully sensible of the attentions which many of the English families she has met felt it their duty to pay to her.

"Among her Majesty's domestics is a cook, who prepares every thing for her table.

"Several naval and military officers, who were resident here, have quitted the town in order to avoid paying their respects to her Majesty.

"Alderman Wood remains here, and will accompany her Majesty to England. He is in excellent health, and has repeated interviews with her Majesty.

"It would seem that her Majesty cannot, however desirous, sail for England this week."

" Calais, Friday night.

" The courier sent by her Majesty to Mr. Brougham, who passed through this town on Monday evening, returned last night, and immediately proceeded with dispatches to her Majesty at St. Omers.

" A telegraphic annunciation has been made to the military authorities here, intimating that no official attention is to be paid to her Majesty the Queen of England; and, as if influenced by the notification, the Commandant, following the example of the Mayor, whose conduct was noticed in a former letter, sent for an English Gentleman known to possess a considerable acquaintance with his fellow-countrymen, to whom he stated, that if any public demonstration of respect were offered to her Majesty, in the slightest degree calculated to produce confusion in the town, he should be under the necessity of interfering to prevent it, by means even extending to imprisonment. This threat, we apprehend, could only arise from an apprehension that it was intended to take her Majesty's horses from the carriage, and draw her into the town; but it has received a more extensive construction, and has produced much indignation among the family of John Bull, who cannot stomach such restrictions upon the honest effusions of their hearts.

" The Commandant says, that her Majesty is travelling as the Countess of Oldi, and that in that character he will visit her himself. This is not the case. All her Majesty's couriers have their passports drawn up as messengers from 'La Reine d'Angleterre,' and her Majesty has invariably adopted that style and title herself. There is no pretence, therefore, for withholding from her the respect due to her rank.

" The messenger who took the letters to Lord Liverpool and Lord Melville have not as yet come back.

" Her Majesty is still at St. Omers, but is expected to come forward to this town without delay. The Consul is still with us. The mails have been detained here since Tuesday; this goes by express."

" Calais, Saturday Morning.

" The courier sent by her Majesty to Lords Liverpool and Mulgrave returned here by the Lord Sidmouth

packet yesterday evening. He brought a box, containing a dress for her Majesty, together with dispatches. In a few minutes after the arrival of the Lord Sidmouth, the Prince Leopold packet reached the Quay, with Mr. Brougham, her Majesty's Attorney-General, and Mr. Sicard, her Majesty's Steward, on board. Lord Hutchinson was also on board the Prince Leopold, but she was especially engaged by Mr. Brougham. The Quay was crowded to see the Learned Counsel disembark. He proceeded to the Bourbon Hotel, and shortly afterwards, in company with Mr. Sicard, set off to St. Omers.

" The Countess of Ryland has also reached this port, and is gone to join the Queen at St. Omers."

" Calais, Sunday Afternoon.

" No intelligence has yet been received in this town as to the intended movements of her Majesty. The result of her Majesty's conference with Mr. Brougham will, no doubt, soon be known; whether it will be in conformity with her Majesty's previous resolution, seems still to be a matter of speculation.

" The Prince Leopold packet, by which Mr. Brougham came to Dover, and which is the largest in the service, still remains in the harbour, and rumours are afloat that she is destined to bear her Majesty to England.

" Orders have been issued by the Commandant, that in the event of her Majesty's arrival at Calais, no additional flags shall be hoisted by the vessels in the harbour.

" Additional guards have been mounted at the Basville Gate, in the event of any jocund disposition being evinced by the English inhabitants, on the approach of her Majesty.

" The British Consul went on board the Prince Leopold, when Mr. Brougham arrived; but little passed between these gentlemen.

" Letters were received at the Post-Office here yesterday, which were sent on by a Courier to St. Omers.

" The wind blows a hurricane.

" Lord Hutchinson and another gentleman, reported to be a relative of Mr. Brougham's, went in the same carriage with Mr. Brougham to St. Omers. It is rumoured that horses

have been ordered on the road for her Majesty's journey to this place."

Calais, 12 o'Clock Sunday Night.

"Mr. Brougham and his brother, together with Lord Hutchinson, did not reach St. Omers till Saturday evening. They were most graciously received by her Majesty. The latter announced that he had a proposition to submit to her Majesty from the King. Her Majesty declared, that it was her intention to abstain from taking into consideration any proposal, or giving any answer, till she arrived in England. She said she was ready to set out for the British shores immediately, having already obtained passports for her Italian suite to return to Italy.

"Matters rested in this state till the ensuing day, and preparations were made for her Majesty's departure to Calais, in order to embark on board a packet, no yacht having been sent in compliance with her demand.

"Yesterday morning, however, Lord Hutchinson stated the object of his mission. It was to propose on the part of his Majesty, that a pension should be granted to her Majesty of Fifty Thousand Pounds a year, upon condition that she should renounce her title as Queen—refrain from using the name of the Royal Family of England, and never return to this country.—And in the event of her not agreeing to those terms, she was told that the moment she set her foot in Great Britain, a message would be sent down to Parliament, and in all probability proceedings would be commenced against her.

"Her Majesty heard these proposals with indignation, quitted the room, and in a short time afterwards set off for Calais accompanied by Lady Anne Hamilton, Alderman Wood, and other individuals. She did not reach Calais till half past ten o'clock, and immediately drove to the Pier, where she embarked on board the Prince Leopold packet, together with her suite.—Her carriages were embarked on board the Lady Jane. They were both to sail this morning at half past six. She contemplated sleeping at Canterbury on Monday night, and being in London on Tuesday at four o'clock.

"Lord Liverpool not having an-

swered her Majesty's letter, with respect to the preparation of a palace, her Majesty will, for the present, take up her residence in the house of Alderman Wood, in South Audley-street, whose family will immediately quit the house for her Majesty's accommodation.

"Her Majesty's Italian Chamberlains have quitted her service.

"Her Majesty left the Messrs. Broughams and Lord Hutchinson behind her at St. Omers. Her departure was as sudden as her indignation was great. She sent on a courier to Calais to secure the Prince Leopold packet for her use. On her Majesty's sudden appearance in Calais the greatest ferment prevailed. She was immediately recognised from the colour of her liveries and the number of her carriages (five). She was followed to the quay by a considerable crowd, and was loudly cheered. The tide was out, but she fearlessly descended into the packet by a ladder of many steps. Refreshments were brought to her from Dessin's Hotel. She was greatly agitated, and appeared to be highly indignant at what had passed at St. Omers.

"The General of the garrison came on board, and paid his respects to her Majesty; she received him graciously.

"Alderman Wood, who had felt it his duty to offer his house for her Majesty's reception, sent off a special messenger to Mrs. Wood, requesting her to make the necessary preparations.

"The British Consul also sent off a messenger to London, stating the occurrences which had taken place.

"The Leopold, on her Majesty coming on board, hoisted the royal standard. Her Majesty sailed yesterday morning at half-past six. In the town of Dover there was the greatest confusion: every one seemed to anticipate with delight the moment of her Majesty's arrival, and all appeared desirous of giving her a most enthusiastic welcome. The same feeling pervaded all the towns in the way to London, through which expresses, and post-carriages and four, were passing with rapidity the whole of the day.

"Her Majesty is attended by Lady Anne Hamilton, and only one female and three male servants.

"Her Majesty's Chamberlains, the Count Bergami and the Count Vasali, requested their own dismissal. They acknowledged the pleasure which they had had in being her servants for six years; but having at last placed her in the protection of her friends, and about to take refuge in the arms of her people, they presumed from among those people she would be enabled to find persons, perhaps, less likely to excite prejudice. These gentlemen have returned to their own country.

"The letter written by her Majesty to Lord Liverpool, demanding a suitable residence, was as follows:—

Villeneuve le Roi, May 29, 1820.

"Having been prevented by indisposition from arriving sooner in England, I take now the earliest opportunity of communicating to the Earl of Liverpool my intention of arriving in London next Saturday, 3d of June; and I desire that the Earl of Liverpool will give proper orders that one of the royal yachts should be in readiness at Calais to convey me to Dover; and likewise, that he would be pleased to signify to me his Majesty's intentions as to what residence is to be allotted to me, either for a temporary or a permanent habitation. I trust that his Majesty the King is perfectly recovered from his late severe indisposition.

"CAROLINE, Queen of England.
"To the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool."

"The letter to Lord Melville, the First Lord of the Admiralty, was written by Lady Anne Hamilton. It was as follows:

Villeneuve le Roi, May 29, 1820.

"Lady Anne Hamilton is commanded by her Majesty the Queen of England, to signify to Lord Melville, that it is her Majesty's intention to return to England immediately—therefore she desires, that Lord Melville will be so good as to give orders that one of the royal yachts should be in attendance at Calais next Saturday, 3d June, to convey her Majesty and suite to England."

"To this the answer subjoined was received by Lady Anne Hamilton, at St. Omers:—

Admiralty, 1st June, 9 A.M.

"Lord Melville had the honour to receive yesterday Lady Hamilton's note of the 29th ult. conveying the information that the Queen intends being at Calais to-morrow. His Majesty, however, being absent from London, Lord Melville cannot receive his commands as to the Board of Admiralty giving orders for one of the royal yachts to proceed at present to Calais."

"While her Majesty was on her road to Calais, she met a courier proceeding to Mr. Brougham and Lord Hutchinson with dispatches.

"Thus this extraordinary case stands. How it may end time will develop."

The following is a private letter which we received by express last night:—

Dover, Monday, 10 o'clock.

"A gentleman has just landed from an open boat, out twelve hours. The Queen embarked last night on board the Leopold packet, at ten o'clock, with Lady Anne, Alderman Wood, &c. all in good health. She is expected in every moment, as a packet is in sight. Her baggage was embarked on board the Jane. The Leopold could not sail before about half-past six this morning. There is but little wind. Lord Hutchinson and Mr. Brougham are left behind.

"They wanted her to take 50,000*l.* a-year, renounce the title of Queen, never make use of that of her family, and never to put her foot in England, which she rejected with disdain."

[From the Times.]

After the interview between the Queen, Lord Hutchinson, and Mr. Brougham, on Saturday night, at St. Omers, during which nothing passed except conversation on different topics, Mr. Brougham sent the following letter to Lord Hutchinson. (It may be proper here to mention, that Mr. Brougham and Lord Hutchinson were at differ-

ent hotels, and did not see each other during the negotiation, except in the presence of the Queen.)

"Mr. Brougham having humbly submitted to the Queen, that he had reason to believe that Lord Hutchinson had brought over a proposition from the King to her Majesty, the Queen has been pleased to command Mr. Brougham to request Lord Hutchinson to communicate any such proposition as soon as possible, in writing. The bearer of this (Count Vasali) will wait to receive it from your Lordship.—June 4, 1820."

To this letter Lord Hutchinson sent a written answer, which is not material to publish, as it merely stated that his Lordship had no written proposals, but merely some scattered memoranda on scraps of paper. Mr. Brougham instantly sent the following reply to Lord Hutchinson's letter:—

"Mr. Brougham is commanded by the Queen to express to Lord Hutchinson her Majesty's surprise at his Lordship not being ready to state the terms of the proposition of which he is the bearer: but as Lord Hutchinson is desirous of a few hours' delay, her Majesty will wait until five o'clock, in the expectation of receiving a communication from his Lordship at that hour.—2 o'clock, June 4, 1820."

This letter is dated two o'clock on Saturday, and it was not till within a few minutes of the stipulated time (five o'clock) that Lord Hutchinson communicated his proposals in the letter which we published in yesterday's paper, and which is a literal transcript of the original document.

As soon as this offensive epistle was read by the Queen, Mr. Brougham, at her Majesty's

request, made the following answer in writing:—

"Mr. Brougham is commanded by the Queen to acknowledge the receipt of Lord Hutchinson's letter, and to inform his Lordship, that it is quite impossible for her Majesty to listen to such a proposition.—Five o'clock, June 4, 1820."

Within a few minutes after this last communication her Majesty suddenly left Mr. Brougham, and went into her carriage, which was ordered to drive away with the greatest possible speed. The suddenness of her departure was such, that Mr. Brougham had no time to follow her Majesty to her coach, and indeed scarcely knew she was gone till he saw from a window the carriage hastening away. The reason of this precipitate departure, which prevented Mr. Brougham from paying the respect which he would otherwise have most anxiously paid, has been since very satisfactorily and naturally explained. Lord Hutchinson, a very short time before her Majesty's leaving St. Omers, happened to say that he expected almost immediately a courier from Paris. Her Majesty, conceiving that the only object of a courier from the capital of a country which had treated her with such marked neglect must be a hostile one, and probably might end in intercepting her journey, took the prompt resolution of setting off that very instant, lest the delay of a few minutes might allow time for the arrival of a messenger with powers to refuse her the means of travelling. Her Majesty was even afraid

that some difficulties might be thrown in her way at Calais, and therefore, to make all sure, determined to go at once on board the English packet-boat. Such an apprehension fully justified her Majesty's abrupt departure from the hotel at St. Omers, and as fully explains the non-attendance of Mr. Brougham at her carriage door: for her Majesty, in her anxiety, did not mention to any one the reason of her haste till she had arrived almost at Calais. It turns out, however, that her Majesty had misunderstood Lord Hutchinson's meaning: the courier expected from Paris was merely to bring an answer from Lord Hutchinson's nephew, who resides in that metropolis, and to whom his Lordship had written, requiring him to come and assist him, as his confidential amanuensis, in the same manner as Mr. Brougham's brother assisted Mr. Brougham.

Lord Hutchinson so little expected her Majesty's departure, that he was in the act of writing the following letter to Mr. Brougham when the Queen went away. This letter was sent after her Majesty to Calais, in an enclosure from Mr. Brougham. The Queen was asleep on board the packet-boat when the parcel arrived, about 1 o'clock, and it was therefore received by Alderman Wood, who was on deck. The worthy Alderman did not think it right to wake her Majesty; but, about two hours afterwards, hearing her speak to her female attendant, he sent the letter to her: her Majesty read it, and desired

Mr. Alderman Wood to acknowledge it; but to add, that the Queen saw no reason to alter her course:—

“ St. Omers, 5 o'clock. June 4, 1820.

“ My dear Sir,—I should wish that you would enter into a more detailed explanation; but, to show you my anxious and sincere wish for an accommodation, I am willing to send a courier to England to ask for further instruction, provided her Majesty will communicate to you whether any part of the proposition which I have made would be acceptable to her; and if there is any thing which she may wish to offer to the English government, on her part, I am willing to make myself the medium through which it may pass. I have the honour to be, &c.

“ HUTCHINSON.”

The preceding letter of Lord Hutchinson exhibits at once the promptitude and firmness of her Majesty's character. We have no doubt that, had she suffered the wicked and disgraceful negotiation to be opened again, her enemies would then have proposed terms yet more alluring, to tempt her to stay on the Continent. They would have offered her an hundred thousand a year instead of fifty.

We now subjoin some interesting facts relative to her Majesty's departure from France, and her arrival at Dover, which came under the personal observation of our own correspondent, or were related to him on the best authority:—

“ Calais, Sunday, 12 o'clock at night.

“ The Queen and Lady Anne Hamilton have been on board the Prince Leopold packet ever since half-past nine o'clock, and are now sleeping in the harbour, as the vessel cannot put to sea

till the tide rises. About half an hour ago Alderman Wood, and two persons who seemed to be domestics, went on board and took possession of the further cabin. The carriages are all placed in another packet. The decisive step being thus taken, it will be interesting to state the events and motives which appear to have led to it.

“ Mr. Brougham, as I told you in a former letter, set off on Friday afternoon from Dover, in company with Lord Hutchinson; they reached Calais in a few hours, and on Friday morning proceeded to St. Omers. Mr. Brougham, as is well known, went professionally as the adviser of the Queen; Lord Hutchinson as the friend of the King, and the bearer of proposals from his Majesty, as well as from the Government. As soon as they arrived, they were introduced to her Majesty, who was attended by Lady A. Hamilton, and took coffee with her. Lord Hutchinson, with considerable agitation in his manner, briefly announced the proposals of which he was the bearer. The Queen expressed great indignation, but, before she gave her final answer, desired to see the proposals stated at length, and in due form in writing. Lord Hutchinson replied, that at present he had merely some memoranda on scraps of paper, but that he would reduce them to form previous to the next meeting. Her Majesty then appointed the next morning (Sunday) for the second interview. His Lordship, at the stated time, waited upon her Majesty, and in her presence,

and in the hearing of Mr. Brougham, made the following proposals in form:—

“ ‘ That her Majesty should renounce all right, title, and claim, to the name, dignity, and honours of Queen of England, and should from henceforth be styled and considered simply as Princess Caroline of Brunswick :

“ ‘ That her Majesty should agree never to put her foot in England, or in any part of the British dominions : that, should she comply with these conditions, an income of 50,000*l.* a year should be settled upon her, which she might enjoy without molestation : should she refuse, criminal proceedings would be instituted against her afresh, and the severest penalties might be expected.’

“ The Queen read the proposals deliberately; she then promptly and decidedly expressed her indignation and disgust, and directed immediate preparations to be made for her passage to England. Mr. Brougham, whose opinion was asked, is said neither to have recommended the adoption nor the rejection of the proposals. His remark was, that her Majesty was the best judge of the real state of her case, and that it was for her to decide what was best and most consistent with that knowledge. Her Majesty did decide: she sent off couriers immediately to prepare horses on the road to Calais, and the packet to convey her to Dover. Nay, with so determined a spirit was she animated, that she declared that, rather than delay her voyage,

she would put to sea in an open boat. And accordingly, as soon as the preparations were completed, her Majesty left St. Omers, and never stopped till she embarked on board the English packet. Mr. Brougham did not attend her Majesty even to the coach-door, nor did he follow her: he remains with Lord Hutchinson at St. Omers. From this circumstance it may perhaps be inferred that some difference of opinion exists between her Majesty and her legal adviser, and that she has preferred the advice of Alderman Wood. We know not how this may be, but we feel assured that Mr. Brougham could have been no party to the proposals which we have enumerated: his acute mind must have seen that, putting all views of insult and degradation out of the question, if her Majesty was guilty of the offences imputed to her, she had no right to receive fifty thousand pounds annually from a generous but burdened people; if she was innocent, then no human being had the right to call upon her to renounce her claim to her just titles, privileges, and dignity. If, therefore, any difference of opinion exists between the Queen and Mr. Brougham, it can scarcely be on the broad question of the rejection or adoption of the proposals brought by Lord Hutchinson. In justice to Mr. Brougham it must likewise be observed, that Lord Hutchinson, though his fellow traveller, never disclosed his message, even in substance, till he came into the presence of the Queen. Lord

Hutchinson, at both interviews with her Majesty, particularly at the last, was so agitated as to be scarcely able to articulate. Her Majesty was high-spirited, firm, and decisive."

"Dover, Monday, 2 o'clock, p. m.

"HER MAJESTY'S ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND.

"Before I proceed to the narrative of this important event, I wish to correct two or three trifling inaccuracies in my former statement, dated Calais. It seems that when Mr. Brougham and Lord Hutchinson first arrived at St. Omers, on Saturday evening, Mr. Brougham was first introduced to her Majesty, who was taking coffee: after a few complimentary observations on both sides, Mr. Brougham announced to the Queen that Lord Hutchinson, who had formerly been a warm friend of her Majesty, and who was now a confidential friend of the King, had come in the spirit of sincere friendship to both, to make some proposals in his Majesty's name. The Queen immediately answered that she should be most happy to see Lord Hutchinson forthwith: his Lordship was accordingly introduced, and took coffee with her Majesty, who conversed on different topics, till his Lordship rose to go away, when her Majesty said, that as she understood he had some proposals to make to her from the King, she should wish to see them in writing, and without delay. In consequence of this request, Lord Hutchinson wrote the following letter to Mr. Brougham as the official adviser of her Majesty—

" SIR,—In obedience to the commands of the Queen, I have to inform you, that I am not in possession of any proposition or propositions detailed in a specific form of words which I could lay before her Majesty: but I can detail to you for her information the substance of many conversations held with Lord Liverpool. His Majesty's Ministers propose that 50,000*l.* per annum should be settled on the Queen for life, subject to such conditions as the King may impose. I have also reason to know that the conditions likely to be imposed by his Majesty are, that the Queen is not to assume the style and title of Queen of England, or any title attached to the royal family of England. A condition is also to be attached to this grant, that she is not to reside in any part of the united kingdom, or even to visit England. The consequence of such a visit will be an immediate message to Parliament, and an entire end to all compromise and negotiation. I believe that there is no other condition, I am sure none of any importance. I think it right to send to you an extract of a letter from Lord Liverpool to me: his words are—'It is material that her Majesty should know confidentially, that if she shall be so ill advised as to come over to this country, there must be an end to all negotiation and compromise. The decision I may say, is taken to proceed against her as soon as she sets her foot on the British shore.' I cannot conclude this letter without my

humble though serious and sincere supplication, that her Majesty will take these propositions into her most calm consideration, and not act with any hurry or precipitation on so important a subject. I hope that my advice will not be misinterpreted. I can have no possible interest which would induce me to give fallacious council to the Queen. But let the event be what it may, I shall console myself with the reflection that I have performed a painful duty imposed upon me to the best of my judgment and conscience, and in a case in the decision of which the King, the Queen, the Government, and the people of England are materially interested. Having done so, I fear neither obloquy nor misrepresentation. I certainly should not have wished to have brought matters to so precipitate a conclusion, but it is her Majesty's decision and not mine. I am conscious that I have performed my duty towards her with every possible degree of feeling and delicacy. I have been obliged to make use of your brother's hand, as I write with pain and difficulty, and the Queen has refused to give any, even the shortest, delay.

" I have the honour to be, Sir,

" With great regard,

" Your most obedient

" Humble servant,

" HUTCHINSON."

[We shall conclude the account of the Queen's Progress to London in our next.]